	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
5171. Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5172. Supernatural experience	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5173. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5174. Goes into trance	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5177. Talks to piece of money	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5178. Listens to hear money singing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5179. Functions when money is lost	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
Witchcraft																
Black Magic																
5182. Love medicine	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
5183. Roots	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•	-	-	-		•	-
5185. Songs			•			+	•	•	-	-	•	•	-		-	-
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone)						+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors																
5188. Man only	+	-	•	+	-	-	-	+	+	•	+	•	•		+	-
5189. Have power from various animals	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
5190. From evil spirit	-		-	-	-		-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		-			-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic	+		•	+	•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•	•	•	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•		•	•
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	-	-	•	•				•	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	-	-	-	-				•	•	+	-	-	-		-	-
Prayer, Offerings																
5196. Prayers frequent by all	•	+	-	(+)	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+		•	+
5197. Offerings of food at meals	•	+	•	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•	+	+		+	-
Eagle Ceremony																
5198. Special observances connected with eagle								(+)					-	-	-	-
5199. Eaglets captured alive													-	-	•	-
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													-	-	•	-
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													-	-	+	-
5202. Killed when grown													-	-	+	-
5203. Feathers plucked out													-	-	+	-
5204. Beads put on body													-	-	+	-
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													-	-	+	-
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person													-	-	+	-
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•	•				-	-	+	-
Kuksu																
Initiation (Boys)																
5207. Tossed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•		-	-
5208. Over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	•		-	-
5209. Held over fire													•		-	-

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NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

[1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

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To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism, power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated, were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

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Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

[6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ikemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

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Here Christian elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power) have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orientation, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology; but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil, and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult, too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services. The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost-Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.